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JOURNAL
OF
THOMAS WALLCUT,
IN 1790.

WITH NOTES BY
GEORGE DEXTER.

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THOMAS WALLCUT'S JOURNAL.

At a stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society held Oct. 9, 1879, Mr. George Dexter communicated the following journal kept during a visit to Marietta, Ohio, and on the return journey to Philadelphia, by Thomas Wallcut, one of the founders of the Society and its first Recording Secretary. This journal had been found among Mr. Wallcut's papers, presented by his nephew, the Rev. Robert F. Wallcut, at the September meeting.

An appreciative and touching memoir of Mr. Wallcut has been prepared by this nephew for the second volume of the *Early Proceedings of the Society* (pp. 193-208). From this it appears that he invested all his pay as hospital steward in the Revolutionary war, in a share of the Ohio Company, then just formed, and an enterprise in which many officers and soldiers of the Continental Army were interested. In 1789 he decided to visit the new settlement, without, however, any definite plan of remaining there permanently. Among his papers is a copy of a letter from General Rufus Putnam, dated August 14, 1789, in which information is given as to the best way of reaching the Muskingum; and two draughts of a letter to his friend George R. Minot, from Ohio, dated October 31 and November 3, 1789, have been found also. From these draughts it appears that he arrived at Marietta on the 26th of October, having left Boston early in September, in a schooner ("Captain Snow"), and having had a rough passage of twenty-four days to Baltimore. Resting here four days, he

tells Mr. Minot he found a conveyance for his portmanteau in a wagon, and started on foot for Wheeling, on the evening of October 1st, arriving there on the evening of the 20th. The only remark he makes about the journey is a comment on the wretched cabins of the settlers along the road on which he travelled: "even for two hundred miles in Pennsylvania, before I came to the Ohio," he says; and he expresses a hope that "our people will be the means of introducing more ambition and a better taste for building, as soon as we can turn our attention from the first and essential requisites of settling a new country." He remained but one day and two nights in Wheeling, and spent four days and a half in walking down to Marietta, having joined Mr. Cutler there (a son of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler), and one other person whose name he does not give. He is much pleased with all he sees and hears in Marietta, but "has thought of traversing a considerable part of the country, and may perhaps go down to Orleans," with the expectation of returning by way of Charleston to Boston.

Mr. Wallcut remained in Marietta from October 26, 1789, to March 8, 1790. If he kept a diary during the early part of his visit, it must have been in another book, for this begins with the first leaf of the book, "Wednesday, January 20, 1790." It is a compact little volume, five inches by three and a half, and opens on the shorter edge. It is kept in a very neat and careful manner. Mr. Wallcut's habits were methodical, and his handwriting almost a model for this generation of poor penmen.

After his return to Boston, Mr. Wallcut did not immediately lose his interest in Ohio. Among his correspondence is an occasional letter from a friend there,—Mr. Moody, with whom he boarded, or Paul Fearing, the first lawyer in the State. But occupation and distance from his lands (the Ohio purchase was the only financial investment he ever made) caused a gradual decrease of attention. When applied to by a friend in Marietta, he sent money from time to time to pay the taxes and other claims upon him. Some letters from William R. Putnam, who seems to have acted as his

agent, are found among his papers. But gradually, piece by piece, the land was sold for unpaid taxes, until finally, in 1838, he made a quitclaim deed of all his interest to Nahum Ward, for the sum of one hundred dollars. It may be of interest to some Ohio antiquary to note that Mr. Wallcut's land (as appears by a letter from Mr. Ward, dated December 17, 1831) consisted of "eight-acre lot, number 287; three acres, number 575; half-acre lot, number 1083; one hundred and sixty acres, number 1142; one-hundred-acre lot, number 498; six hundred and forty acres, and two hundred and sixty-two acres, number 13, in range number 15, town number 11."*

In printing the diary, the language has been modernized somewhat, and a few passages of a strictly private or personal nature have been omitted.

Wednesday, 20 January, 1790. It was perceived this morning that the River Mus[kingum] had fallen. When I got up it appeared to me it had fallen about a foot, and it continued to fall through the day, and faster much than it had risen. It froze considerably last night, and this is as cold or the coldest day I have felt in the country. Went

* In a copy which Mr. Wallcut has made of a letter from Benjamin Lynde Oliver to him from Zanesville, July 23, 1812, occurs the following: "With respect to your land, all the information I can obtain is this, — it originally contained five lots and a section and fraction. 1st lot, No. 287, of eight acres, was a very good piece of land, and worth \$10 per acre, at least. This is not redeemable. 2d lot, No. 575, of three acres, is rough, hilly land, not worth the taxes paid on it. 3d lot, No. 1083, is a house-lot, one-half acre, situated near the bank of the Ohio, a quarter of a mile from the Hockhocking, valuable merely as good land. 4th lot, No. 1142, one hundred and sixty acres, lies about twenty miles from Marietta. It is at least three or four miles from any settlement. It is rich land, but hilly, worth fifty cents or seventy-five cents per acre; and, when there shall be any settlement near it, will rise, perhaps, to \$2 per acre. 5th lot, No. 498, of one hundred acres, lies about eighty-five miles from Marietta, and separated from the Ohio by a small Congress lot. This is all good land; one-half of it is what is called bottom-land, — that is, low, rich, flat land, near the river. This land is worth at least \$3 or \$4 per acre. The section No. 13, containing six hundred and forty acres, lies about forty miles west by south from Marietta, about six miles west by south from Athens. It is partly rich, partly thin, hilly land. It is worth, on an average, about \$1 per acre. Seventy-four acres are sold. The fraction, two hundred and sixty-two acres, lies contiguous to the section, and is of the same value per acre."

out with Captain Prince,* and cut some poles for the smoke house. In the evening went to Mr. Parsons's vendue † and bid upon some linen, a pattern for a shirt. I went as high as two dollars, which was as much as I thought it might be afforded for here, but it went above me.

Thursday, 24 January. The weather much moderated to-day, and our creek and pond before the house fell so that it is almost dry. I believe this morning the Muskingum had fell six or eight feet from the highest state of the flood in about twenty-four hours.

Friday, 22 January, 1790. ‡

Sabbath, 24 January, 1790. A pleasant day. This morning Mr. Brockway, Mr. Dix, Mr. Cushing, and several others left this place on a voyage to Orleans. Their object is trade, as they have some flour, and perhaps to seek their fortune. Captain P. started the proposal of going down with them as far as Belle Prairie § to view that settlement. I readily assented to it with Mr. Moody. || We carried with us a

* Captain Joseph Prince was a hatter by trade. He came from Boston, and Dr. Hildreth says he removed from Marietta to Cincinnati. Among Mr. Wallcut's papers is a letter from him from that place, dated June 14, 1811. See "Pioneer History," p. 330.

† General Samuel H. Parsons, one of the judges of the Territory, and a director in the Ohio Company, was a distinguished officer in the Continental army. He was drowned in the Big Beaver Creek in November, 1789. Perhaps the vendue was a sale of his effects, for his son Enoch, who was with him in Ohio, returned to Connecticut in April of this year. There is a biography of General Parsons in Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio"; and a full Parsons family genealogy in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," vol. i. pp. 263-275. There is also an account of his death in Craig's "Olden Time," vol. ii. p. 528. He was one of the first to call attention to the curious mounds and earthworks in the Ohio Territory. See Haven's "Archæology of the United States," p. 23.

‡ Nothing but the date is entered.

§ For an account of the settlement and early history of Belpre, see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," chapters xvi.-xix. There were three settlements, some little distance apart, but the Indian war caused the building of Farmers' Castle at the middle settlement, in which garrison all the inhabitants took shelter. Dr. Hildreth gives a picture of Farmers' Castle and a list of its inhabitants in 1792, indicating the house in which each family dwelt. At the time of Mr. Wallcut's visit Farmers' Castle had not been built.

|| Mr. Nathaniel Moody was a baker in Marietta, with whom Mr. Wallcut and his friend, the doctor, boarded during Mr. Wallcut's visit. Among the Wallcut papers are two letters from Mr. Moody written after Mr. Wallcut's return to Boston. From Mr. Prince's letter, cited above, it appears that Mr. Moody went also to Cincinnati, that he was unfortunate in business there, and that he returned to New England for a time. When Mr. Prince heard last of him, he was in Kentucky.

couple of loaves of bread, a half gallon whiskey, and some smoked venison, and went aboard about 11 or 12 o'clock. We stopped twice to land some other passengers and articles and proceeded down. We got to Waldo Putnam's about dark, one of Mr. Moody's acquaintance, and got lodging and mush and milk there for supper. Our bed was very good. This Waldo Putnam is a grandson of General Israel, and son of Colonel. He has been here to help his son begin his farm, has got him in a comfortable and prosperous way, and has gone home to Connecticut. Waldo appears to be cut out for a farmer. Captain Miles and family live in one part of the house, Captain Haskel, Mr. Davis, Mr. Duntun, and some others live altogether here.*

Monday, 25 January, 1790. Walked up this morning to Major Cushing's and Colonel Battelle's, who both urged us to breakfast with them. † Captain Prince went to Major Cushing's; Mr. Moody and I stayed at Colonel Battelle's, where we made our breakfast on mush and milk and hashed turkey. When we left home we intended to stay here but one night and to return to-day, but Messrs. P. and M. inclined to spend the day here to look all through the settlement. I acquiesced, though I would rather have gone home to-day, as it was very pleasant and mild, and we might not have so good an one to-morrow. We were asked to dine at Colonel Oliver's ‡ by Captain George Ingersoll; — had a good dish of boiled beef and pork, cabbage, turnips, potatoes, and Indian bread and wheat bread, and all served in a decent and handsome clean manner. Colonel Oliver and Major Goodale § are out

* Aaron Waldo Putnam went out to Ohio with his father, Colonel Israel Putnam, in 1788. They settled at Belpre, where the son married Bathsheba Loring, daughter of Daniel Loring. Lives of both father and son are in Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers." Captain Benjamin Miles was from Massachusetts. Major Jonathan Haskel had a farm at Belpre. He was afterward in the United States service, and is one of the pioneers whose lives Dr. Hildreth has preserved. Hildreth mentions a Jonas Davis, an unmarried man, as one of the early settlers of Belpre. He was killed by the Indians in 1795. See "Pioneer History," pp. 388, 414.

† Major Nathaniel Cushing of Massachusetts was the second commander of the Farmers' Castle at Belpre. Colonel Ebenezer Battelle was also from Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1775. He served frequently as chaplain to the settlement. Dr. Hildreth gives lives of both in his "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers."

‡ Colonel Alexander Oliver was from the western part of Massachusetts. He had a large family of children, eleven in all. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 386.

§ Major Nathan Goodale was the first commander of the garrison at Farmers' Castle. He was taken prisoner by the Indians, and died in captivity. Dr. Hildreth gives a memoir of him.

with the exploring committee down the Ohio at Kanhawa. They went out for five or six weeks, but have sent up for more provision, and do not expect to come home until some time in February. We drank tea at Captain Dana's.* Mrs. Oliver, Mrs. Munsell, and Betsy Oliver, Mr. Munsell, Captain Prince, Mr. Moody, and Ingersoll, and I went to Captain D.'s to drink tea. It was sunset when we were done, and the women had three miles to walk home. Captain D. lent his skiff to go down by water, which was gratefully accepted on account of the ladies.†

Tuesday, 26 January, 1790. This morning a prospect of foul weather to-day. The wind very high and a little rain. I do not regret staying yesterday unless we should have a wet day home. We went up to Colonel Oliver's to breakfast with Messrs. Ingersoll and Mayo,‡ and Mr. Munsell, who came down with us to see his wife (Colonel O.'s daughter), and to carry her home to M. We had to assist Mr. Munsell through politeness to help him carry the skiff home. So we worked her up with Mrs. Lucretia in her, which made it noon when we got to Captain Dana's. We then took our baiting or dinner, and finished the meat (dried venison) and bread we brought with us, and some whiskey they (Munsell and Moody) bought here. By this time a canoe of hunters were going up with meat to sell at Marietta. Mr. Munsell went with his wife in that canoe home, and we set off between twelve and one, and walked a brisk and very steady pace (about fourteen miles), which brought us to the garrison at sunset.§ We were detained some time in getting over, but got home at dark before tea. It is counted twelve miles to Little Kanhawa on the Virginia shore, and seventeen miles to the lower blockhouse in the Belle Prairie settlement, and four or five miles to the settlement at Hocking. We were treated with

* Mr. Wallcut has partly drawn his pen through the words, "we slept again at Waldo Putnam's in a good bed; had mush and milk for supper."

† Captain William Dana was from Watertown, Massachusetts, and lived at the upper Belpre settlement. Betsy Oliver married the Hon. Daniel Symmes of Cincinnati. Mrs. Levi Munsell was her elder sister. The Munsells lived in Marietta, where, with Joseph Buell, Mr. Munsell built the first frame house in 1789. They had both been sergeants in General Harmar's regiment, and Buell had kept a diary, extracts from which are printed by Dr. Hildreth.

‡ Daniel Mayo, from Boston, a graduate of Harvard College, was one of the unmarried men at Belpre settlement. He taught the school there.

§ The garrison was Fort Harmar, built in 1785 by Major John Doughty, on the opposite bank of the Muskingum from Marietta. There is a woodcut of it, with a description (written by Dr. Hildreth), in the first volume of Williams's "American Pioneer," and a better picture and account in the "Pioneer History."

attention, politeness, and hospitality. This settlement is the most forward of any, containing about twenty families and a hundred souls. On our return home we met Hutchinson * going down to the exploring committee alone in a skiff with one barrel of whiskey and three of flour at or below Kanhawa. In the evening went to Mr. Parsons's room, but the members were scattered till late, and the President, Mr. Fearing,† adjourned to to-morrow evening.‡

Wednesday, 27 January, 1790. Weather pleasant, but colder than for some days past. This evening it began to snow. The society met, and proceeded to consider and discuss the question referred to this meeting, viz.: "Is the civil Government of the Western Territory as it now stands, by the Ordinance of Congress, calculated to secure the peace, freedom, and prosperity of the people; and what is wanting to obtain so desirable an object?" The society were not unanimous in any opinion, except that the Ordinance or Constitution would admit of amendments that might be very salutary, but that it is well framed for a temporary Constitution, and, taking futurity into consideration, some additions and amendments are necessary and proper. They, however, considered it as a compact that Congress cannot break, or infringe, without mutual consent. Major Dean Tyler§ was elected a member, having stood seven days in nomination.

* Hildreth mentions a Thomas Hutchinson as an early settler at Marietta. See "Pioneer History," p. 317.

† Paul Fearing was from Plymouth county, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard College in 1785. He was the first attorney admitted to practise in Ohio, and represented that state in Congress from 1801 to 1803. He died in 1822. Dr. Hildreth has included him in his "Early Pioneer Settlers."

Enoch Parsons was the third son of General Parsons, and when only twenty years old received the appointment of recorder or register of the county of Washington, May 14, 1789. He resigned this office perhaps on account of his father's death, in April of the next year, and returned to his native state, Connecticut, where he afterward filled many offices. He was a man of some literary taste, and must have been a congenial companion for Mr. Wallcut. Among other offices held by him was that of president of the Connecticut branch of the United States Bank. He died in 1846. There is a memoir of him, with a portrait in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," vol. i. pp. 159-162.

‡ This is the earliest reference to a debating society, of which mention is made more than once in the diary.

§ Major Tyler moved to Waterford on the Muskingum, a short distance above Marietta, where he was the first constable. He was an educated man, a graduate of Harvard College, and taught the school and conducted the religious services of Waterford. Dr. Hildreth has published a short sketch of his life. He was early appointed a subaltern officer of the garrison at Marietta. See Colonel May's "Journal and Letters," p. 72.

Questions were then put into the hat for the next evening's debate. "Whether the American States have, contrariant to the regulations of the Spanish Government, a right, founded in the customs and laws of nations, to navigate the Mississippi from its source to its mouth"; No. 1, Parsons. No. 2, "Is the police of the city of Marietta equal to the good government of the same; and what alteration, if any, is necessary to that purpose"; Prince. No. 3, "Whether capital punishment ought ever to be instituted; if admitted, ought it to be inflicted in any other case than where the criminal is guilty of murder"; Fearing. No. 4, Is the popular opinion true that the interests of the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant are one and the same, inseparably connected; or does this supposed oneness of interest exist anywhere but in the brains of speculative theorists or prejudiced politicians;—or, in other words, is it not necessary in the nature of things, and to preserve harmony in a system, that some one interest or principle should predominate? If so, which principle or interest that should be, must be another question"; T. W. No. 1 was elected.

Mr. Daniel Axe Louis Tylas, who was a member when the Constitution was forming, but before it was completed went a journey up to Pittsburgh, being now returned, was invited to sign the articles, which he did accordingly. When we adjourned it was at twelve or one. The snow had fell about two inches.

Thursday, 28 January, 1790. Very cold to-day; as [cold as] I have felt it in this place, but not that biting, stinging cold that we have at home. This evening Anselm Tupper* arrived from another tour in the woods with his men all safe.

Friday, 29 January. The cold continues as yesterday, but clear and pleasant. Blistered my hands in cutting wood on a large beech. In the evening attended Mr. Parsons's auction and bought six yards of Irish linen for two shirts for the doctor at 3s. per yard. It is good linen, and cheaper than can be got in this country. Such they tell me has been sold for 5s. Bought two pounds coffee; also Captain P. and Mr. S., two each, so that we are now like to have coffee for a change, I hope, while I stay. Tea has been our diet night and morning ever since I came, except twice.

Saturday, 30 January, 1790. Spent the most of the day in reading more reviews, monthly and critical, borrowed of Mr. Parsons. Weather

* Anselm Tupper was the son of General Benjamin Tupper, a well known Revolutionary officer, and was one of the surveyors of the Ohio Company. He was of the first company that landed at Marietta, April 7, 1788. The father arrived in the following August.

considerably moderated, and clear and pleasant. N. B. It should have been noted yesterday that Mrs. Sargent* died about one of the clock of childbed sickness. This evening returned Colonel Meigs and the exploring committee with him, among whom were Commodore Whipple and General Tupper.†

They have returned two or three weeks sooner than they intended, but when they [were] about to proceed up the Hocking, the ice was so thick coming down as to prevent them. They propose going out again in a few days to finish.

Lord's Day, 31 January, 1790. Pleasant and mild, the snow entirely gone. Did not go to meeting to-day, but attended the funeral of Mrs. Sargent in the afternoon. The obsequies were performed with decency and respect.

Monday, 1 February, 1790. Weather rainy and unpleasant, but mild. Finished reading the critical and monthly reviews borrowed of Mr. Parsons. Mrs. Moody inoculated to-day.‡

Tuesday, 2 February. Weather much as yesterday. The Court of Quarter Sessions stood adjourned to this day, as the same jury were held to serve at this court. About 10 or 11 the court opened, and some time was lost in collecting a jury, and thirteen being collected, Mr. Fearing, attorney, attended us to the south-east blockhouse, Colonel Meigs's chamber. Indictments were laid before us against two men for fighting, Newell and Sargeant, hunters. Bills were found against them severally. Mr. Woodbridge,§ foreman, asked the jury if we

* Mrs. Winthrop Sargent was Rowena Tupper, sister of Anselm Tupper and daughter of General Benjamin. Her husband was the well-known secretary of the Ohio Company, and of the Territory. Their marriage on February 6, 1789, was the first solemnized in the Territory. General Rufus Putnam performed the ceremony. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 249.

† Colonel Return J. Meigs, a distinguished officer in the Revolution, was one of the surveyors of the Ohio Company. He reached Marietta five days after the first party. He became afterward the agent for the Cherokee Indians. His son, of the same name, was governor of Ohio from 1810 to 1814.

Commodore Whipple was a well-known naval officer in the Revolutionary war. He died in 1819, aged 85.

General Tupper served as major of Colonel Fellows's regiment at the siege of Boston, and made two gallant expeditions down the harbor. See Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," pp. 230, 242. Lives of all three of these pioneers may be found in Dr. Hildreth's series of biographies.

‡ For an account of the introduction of the small-pox into Marietta, see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 263.

§ Dudley Woodbridge succeeded Mr. Parsons as recorder or register, in April, 1790. See Pres. Andrews's "Washington County, and the Early Settlement of Ohio," p. 79.

had any thing more to present, and nothing being offered, I proposed for the consideration of the jury four articles of complaint to be presented as grievances. I prefaced them with some observations on their necessity and propriety, and the informality of the paper. With leave of the foreman I read them. The question was taken whether the jury would take them up and act upon them. Passed affirmatively. As it was expected it would take some time to deliberate on them, and being near one o'clock, we adjourned to three o'clock. About half-past three the jury met and debated the four articles.

1st Grievance. No law exists against duelling, &c.

2d Grievance. No incorporation of Marietta, and therefore no way of providing for the poor and sick strangers.

3d Grievance. No law licensing and regulating taverns, &c.

4th Grievance. No law against the crime of buying and selling the human species.*

On the first, only Mr. Winsor and myself voted for it. On the second, passed unanimously affirmative. On the third, passed by a majority of nine affirmatively. On the fourth, passed by a majority of eleven affirmatively. These presentments concluded by referring the court to two former cases of two negroes being sold, and [asking?] that they would concur with the jury in an application to the governor and judges for remedy of these complaints. The court dismissed the jury. Speech of Captain Jona. Morris in the grand jury on the article of duelling. I think every government ought to encourage duelling. It would discourage cowards, and we want brave men to [*illegible*.] His eye and his whole countenance spoke the same language.†

* Among these Wallcut papers is a small scrap on which Mr. Wallcut has written these grievances. It is probably the paper from which he read them to the grand jury. The names of the first grand jury are preserved by Dr. Hildreth in his "Pioneer History," p. 233. On the back of this paper of grievances Mr. Wallcut has written the names of the jurors "February Term, 1790, held by adjournment from December, 1789." The names are as follows: Dudley Woodbridge, Abraham Whipple, ——— Stacy, Christopher Winsor, Charles Knowles, William Burnham, William Skinner, Levi Munsell, Joseph Buell, Wanton Casey, ——— Munroe, Jonathan Morris, Thomas Wallcut.

† Mr. Wallcut entertained throughout his life very decided opinions on the subject of slavery and offences against good morals, and he was always fearless in the expression of them, and ready for any service he thought himself capable of performing to influence public opinion against these evils. The following is a draught he prepared of an address to Governor St. Clair on his arrival with his family in Ohio, which happened during Mr. Wallcut's visit.

Wednesday, 3 February, 1790. We had no meeting last night, and Mr. Fearing gone to Wolf Creek to-day.* We had a meeting this

Perhaps the opportunity of presenting his "grievances" to the grand jury induced him to suppress this address. There is no mention of it in the diary.

"To His Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Territory of the United States North-west of the River Ohio:

"The subscribers, citizens of Marietta, in the county of Washington, in the Territory aforesaid, congratulate you on your safe arrival in your government with your family.

"We beg leave to observe that, as men, as American citizens, and as Christians, we conceive ourselves born to certain natural inherent and unalienable rights, which we hold to be sacred, and which cannot be violated without endangering the public peace, liberty, and safety; and that infringements upon these rights ought not to go unpunished.

"As friends to the rights of mankind, and following the dictates of that charity and benevolence which we owe to our fellow-men, however the common parent of us all may have distinguished us from each other by complexion, education, or any other circumstance, we cannot but view with serious concern when inroads are made upon the barriers that secure to us these important blessings, or sufficient checks are not provided by law to restrain and punish the inordinate passions of oppressive, cruel, and avaricious men against the innocent, the helpless, and the injured.

"We therefore beg leave to call your Excellency's attention, and to earnestly recommend to your notice, certain abuses and offences against the interests of society and good government which have taken place here, and against which it is said by some there is either no law, or that the laws are insufficient for the remedying and punishing like offences in future.

"The first thing we beg leave to mention is that a certain Isaac Mixer, an inhabitant and innkeeper in this city and county, a man of notoriously vicious character, keeps a disorderly, riotous, and ill-governed house, which is considered by the citizens in general as an intolerable nuisance to the place, and one that will not only bring an odium and prejudice against the inhabitants and their police, but is also, in its tendency, destructive of peace, good order, and exemplary morals, upon which not only the well-being but the very existence of society so much depends.

"To remedy and prevent the like abuses in future, we beg leave to suggest to your attention whether it is not immediately necessary that a law should be enacted for licensing and regulating taverns and other places of public resort, with proper penalties.

"We next beg leave to observe that we apprehend the said Isaac Mixer has committed a flagrant trespass upon the rights of humanity, the privileges of American subjects, and the peace and happiness of this jurisdiction, as well as the dignity of the United States, in selling a certain negro boy named Prince, about the age of seven years, out of this jurisdiction into the State of Virginia,

* For an account of the Wolf Creek mills, see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 422. Mr. Fearing's father lived there.

evening, and agreeable to the articles elected our officers for this month; Enoch Parsons, President, T. W., Secretary, and Joseph Prince, Treasurer. The question to be debated this evening was referred to the next meeting. The meeting was soon finished, as they wanted to have a card party, and called in Munro and Elliot.* I went home as soon as our meeting was over, and read a critical and English review borrowed of Elliot. Weather much as yesterday. Began to rain pretty hard this evening.

Thursday, 4 February. A pretty smart snow-storm, with cold and high winds; about two or three inches of snow fell.

Friday, 5 February. Pretty cold to-day. This and yesterday seem more like New England winter weather than any I have felt here. Had some talk with Mr. Dodge about going home.†

where slavery is tolerated by law. This atrocious crime, we presume, is against the divine and moral, as well as (according to Judge Blackstone) against the Jewish code, the common law of England, and the ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory, which we apprehend to be our constitution, and therefore the supreme law of the land. And considering that this is the second instance that the said Mixer has shown his contempt and defiance of the aforesaid sacred rights of mankind, we cannot refrain from expressing to your Excellency our apprehensions that, if this evil is not speedily checked, it may grow to the abominable and degrading traffic of buying and selling our fellow-creatures in this place.

"When so just ideas of rational and constitutional freedom are like the life-giving rays of the sun, darting their benign influence over most of the kingdoms of the world, — while the Christian, the philosopher, and the good men of every community expect and devoutly look forward to the complete emancipation of the whole human race, — it would ill become Americans to wink at crimes so enormous; nay, rather, they would not continue to support their character of being foremost to break and destroy every yoke of slavery, every manacle of tyranny. We therefore trust your Excellency will indulge us so far, and impute it to laudable motives, when we express our earnest wishes that a law may be enacted with heavy penalties, for like abuses in future. In the mean time we cannot but entertain fears that the above-mentioned boy is daily liable to be sold away from place to place, till he may be transported where he will be a slave beyond remedy. At the same time, we beg leave to express our wishes, that, if it is practicable and consistent with law, the said Mixer may be held answerable for his conduct, and the boy reclaimed as a subject of this jurisdiction, and entitled to like privileges with ourselves and our children."

* Captain Josiah Munroe was of the first company that arrived at Marietta. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 206.

† A Captain John Dodge was one of the party of three who built the Wolf Creek mills in 1789. Mr. Wallcut left Marietta and travelled part of the way to Philadelphia with a Mr. Dodge.

Saturday, 6 February, 1790. Weather pleasant and milder than yesterday. Employed myself in chopping wood. I feel best those days which are partly improved in exercise.

Lord's Day, 7 February. Did not go to meeting. Pleasant and mild, but windy. Spent the evening with Mr. Gridley,* and drank tea. Colonel Battelle and wife came in after tea to spend the evening. We stayed till about nine or after, and came away together. I accompanied Colonel B. and wife as far as the stockade, and found Mr. Tylas coming down to the point with a lantern which I improved until, about half way, the wind blew it out. Very dark and muddy. Heard of the Wolf Creek men losing their millstones in going with them up Muskingum. They seem to be peculiarly unfortunate or are very careless.

Monday, 8 February. A little snow on the ground this morning. Pleasant and moderate. This evening a man came from Belle Prè to inform of the boat being found and taken up by Captain Stone † at Belle Prè; every thing saved.

Tuesday, 9 February. Cold, clear, and pleasant. Meeting of our society adjourned to to-morrow evening.

Wednesday, 10 February, 1790. Cold and clear. Our meeting again adjourned. The Ohio and Muskingum both so full of ice that there is no passing.

Thursday, 11 February. Society met this evening and debated the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi again, being the question of Mr. Parsons proposed last meeting. A diversity of sentiment prevailed, but all agreed in the probability or certainty of a trade taking place in a few years, by strength or force if not by right or treaty, or some other way. The laws and customs of nations were much insisted on, but they who laid so much stress on them ought to have told us what they were. For my part, I declared my ignorance of them without reserve, and therefore argued only upon the ground of what appear to me the laws of nature, as well as the reason and justice of our right to the trade, the nature and circumstances of the case, &c. A meeting of agents was to sit to-day, but could do no business for want of one member, and adjourned. Sent express for Major Goodale from Belle Prè.

* A William Gridley is mentioned as one of those who came to Marietta the first season. See Horace Nye's "Reminiscences," quoted in Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," p. 510.

† Captain Jonathan Stone from Massachusetts was one of the Belpre association. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 366, 382.

Friday, 12 February. The snow entirely gone. The rivers Ohio and Muskingum both still choked up with the ice, that the passing is very dangerous.

Saturday, 13 February, 1790. The rivers continue so choked with ice that the exploring committee cannot go out to finish their surveys.

Lord's Day, 14 February. Did not go to meeting. Weather unsettled, raw and rainy.

Monday, 15 February. The people at Belle Prè having taken out every thing from the boat but the stones and gudgeons,* she was again carried away by the ice and seen by some hunters down about Kanhawa amidst a large cake of ice, so that she could not be come at. However, the pork, flour, bread, beans, hams, and a variety of other articles with some tools were saved at Belle Prè. This affair seems to be a strange medley of good and bad luck.

Tuesday, 16 February. Thaw and rain; the air soft and very foggy. This melts and carries off the ice very fast. The rivers rise. No meeting this evening. I fear ours will be but a short-lived society. They seem to have so little taste and animation for it that we evidently have the symptoms of decay.†

Wednesday, 17 February, 1790. The rivers continue to rise exceedingly fast. Had a meeting this evening. After the business was over, Mr. Parsons resigned his place as president, which was not accepted. The evening spent till twelve o'clock or after, courting him to hold it. Mr. Pearing has been absent two or three meetings, and seems inclined to drop his connection. It has rained considerably to-day.

Thursday, 18 February. Warm and pleasant part of the day, and rained part. I went out in the evening before I went to bed and found the back water of Muskingum had come into the creek at the door and above the bridge so as to cover our dam and fill the pond high. Towards night and in the evening, it rained very hard, with thunder and lightning. Expect to be routed again with the high water.

Friday, 19 February. We got up at sunrise this morning. The doctor calling, and telling us the water rose so fast that it would soon be in the house, when I immediately got up. We soon had the tea-kettle on, and got our coffee boiled; and before we could get our breakfast

* A gudgeon is the iron piece on the end of a wooden shaft on which it turns. See Webster's Dictionary Unabridged. The boat is the same that was lost while on its way to Wolf Creek. See entries of 7th and 8th February.

† We have seen no mention elsewhere of this debating society. Its life was probably as short as Mr. Wallcut feared.

done, the water came in so fast that the floor was afloat, and we stood in water to our buckles to drink the last dish. We had before got such articles upstairs as the water might injure. Everybody on the point below the great bridge is obliged to move. Only three houses are out of reach of the water, owing to their being placed so high. Messrs. Woodbridge (Merchant), Rockwell, Wells (Tailors), Mr. Bent, Prince, Webster, Moody, Skinner, Mixer, Mills, Lucas, Neal, Tuttle, Barber, Landon, Matthews.* The flood carries away fences, barrels, and every thing that will float, so that some are busy in towing the timber off their garden lots to go down the stream, which saves a vast deal of labor (six parts in seven, they say). Went up to Dr. True's pest-house † and got my dinner with Moody. At night carried the doctor's bedding into Mr. Fearing's to sleep, as the doctor is determined to stay and take care of the house. Which he did and slept there. At agents' meeting this week the following business was acted upon,—encouragement for mills, iron-works, salt-works, manufactures, company orders, and a petition of S. Symons in behalf of some people who desire to settle in this purchase.

Saturday, 20 February, 1790. Went up to Mr. Moody's and got my victuals. The river continues to rise; the ice almost all passed down. But it is supposed there have been heavy rains, as well as the Alleghany probably broke up, that cause the present rise, which several besides Colonel Gilman ‡ say is about one foot higher than it was

* Mr. Wallcut has left a blank space here, as if he intended to add more names of sufferers from the flood. Dr. Hildreth says, in his account of the floods of the Ohio River, printed in the first part of the first volume of the publications of the Ohio Historical Society (p. 55), that for some years after the settlement of Marietta, there was no flood that did any damage. "The river in the spring and autumn was generally about 'full bank,' but never overflowed so much as to remove fences. Small buildings were erected on the low bottoms near the river, by the early settlers, for the convenience of fattening hogs, &c., and remained there for years without molestation from the water." Mr. Wallcut's account would imply that this freshet of 1790 was something more than the usual "full bank" of the season.

† When the small-pox appeared at Marietta, a town meeting decided that houses should be put up back of the plain, and the people be inoculated. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 264. Dr. True's pest-house was probably one of these. Dr. True was an early emigrant to Marietta, and a valued physician and citizen. He died in 1823. His life is in Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers."

‡ This is probably Joseph Gilman, from Exeter, New Hampshire, who emigrated to Marietta with his family in 1789, and was appointed probate judge in December of the same year. Dr. Hildreth has a life of him and of his son, Benjamin Ives Gilman, in his pioneer biographies.

last May. When the water had got up to the top of the stone-work of Mr. Moody's oven, it fell in, which will be not only a heavy loss to him, especially in his present circumstances, but to the settlement, as many depend partly on him for bread. The surveyors' committee, &c., cannot carry out hard bread with them as they used to do till it is rebuilt, which I would not do in the same place again. Slept at Mr. Fearing's again.

Lord's Day, 21 February, 1790. Went down again as usual this morning to the house. They say the water has fallen about twelve or thirteen inches. Found the doctor in the house. He had got some bricks upon the floor, and kindled a little fire. . . . Went to Mr. Woodbridge's* in a canoe, and bought some more sugar, where I received a welcome letter from home, the first word I have heard since I left them. Many particulars that I expected to be informed of I was disappointed in. Mr. Moody received his yesterday afternoon by the same conveyance, Mr. Cutter† of Cambridge going down to Miami in a Kentucky boat.‡ I suppose mine got left at Mr. Woodbridge's, and

* Dudley Woodbridge kept a general store in Marietta. An account with Mr. Wallcut shows that he sold shoes, "shaloon," &c., as well as groceries. See, also, note on page 11.

† This name may be Cutler. There were families of both names in Cambridge. But Mr. Moody says, in a letter to Mr. Wallcut, dated Marietta, September 14, 1791, "there have been two persons killed by the Indians here lately, a Captain Rogers, and old Mr. Karr, at the mouth of Duck Creek and Wolf Creek; also one Kelly, killed at Belleville, and his son taken prisoner; one Joseph Cutter, who was from Cambridge, either killed or taken prisoner."

‡ A Kentucky boat is described by Judge Burnet in his "Notes on the North-western Territory," p. 49, as a flat boat "made of green oak plank, fastened by wooden pins to a frame of timber, and calked with tow, or any other pliant substance that could be procured."

Mr. Christian Schultz, who visited Marietta in September, 1807, describes (*Travels*, vol. i. pp. 129-132) the various kinds of boats used on the Western rivers and their cost. "Kentucky boats," he says, "are strong frames of an oblong form, varying in size from twenty to fifty feet in length, and from ten to fourteen in breadth; they are built of stout square timber, and before they are sided and roofed in, have much the appearance of old graving scows, excepting that the front part or bow has somewhat of a rake. The gunwales are generally from twelve to twenty-four inches high, and from three to six inches thick; on the top of these are mortised square joists of three or four feet in length, and four or five inches thick, which are sided up like a house with ordinary boards; on the top of these studs are secured the foot of each rafter, on which the roof is laid, which likewise answers the purpose of a main and quarter deck; they are steered by a long swing oar of the whole length of the boat, and

that is why I did not get it last evening. After breakfast took a walk of two or three miles over the hills beyond the hospital towards Duck Creek,* upon the side of the three and eight acre lots. A beautiful mild, pleasant, warm day like May. Have not had so agreeable a walk since I came here. On my return met Captain Knowles † and Mr. Burnham going to view their eight-acre lots. I accompanied them and returned with them. I slept this night at Mr. M.'s house. . . .

Monday, 22 February, 1790. . . . The water has abated so that Lucas and Neal and several more are moving back into their houses. . . . After breakfast I busied myself in kindling a fire to dry the house, and after dinner got Mr. Bent to lay the floor, which the water had thrown up together in a confused heap. N. B. The water had risen about four feet upon the floor, and about four and a half without it. Went up about four o'clock and dined. . . . The water has now got so low that we can pass the great bridge ‡ by the help of rails laid from log to stump and log, &c. In the evening I sat up late to make a large fire to dry the house in the night. Last evening arrived here Captain Thompson, late of Lamb's artillery, with despatches for Governor St. Clair, who is by this time at Kaskias. Went to Judge Gilman and excused myself as one of the appraisers of Joshua Cheever's estate and effects. The doctor showed me, as a natural curiosity of the country, a complete lobster in miniature, about two inches in length, with the tail extended without the horns. They are found in plenty in streams and springs of water. Mr. Cutler § gave me some alum found on the surveys.

Tuesday, 23 February, 1790. The most part of the day warm and pleasant, so that the roads dry fast, but rain in the night keeps them

generally have from one to three hands to manage a boat, having frequent occasion, when heavily loaded, to use their unwieldy oars in order to keep nearly in the middle of the river. Some of these floating machines, with a shed roof, bear a very striking resemblance to what you daily see in the streets of New York when new houses are building, and generally denominated a lime house."

* Duck Creek flows into the Ohio a short distance east from Marietta. It is a considerable stream.

† Charles Knowles is mentioned by Hildreth ("Pioneer History," p. 233) as a member of the first grand jury, Sept. 9, 1788, and a William Burnham was of the jury on which Mr. Wallcut served.

‡ The great bridge was probably that over Tyber Creek, which empties into the Muskingum in the southern part of the town. See Colonel May's journal, p. 76; Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 225, 226.

§ This was probably Jarvis Cutler, son of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, who was one of the first party of emigrants. Dr. Hildreth gives a sketch of his life in the pioneer biographies.

wet. This morning walked up to the pest-house all the way without the help of a canoe. Did not go to agents' meeting to-day, for staying to take care of the house and make fires to dry the house. I fastened the house to go up to breakfast and dinner, and in the evening drank tea in Captain Prince's house, where I had the pleasure of reading a newspaper (Carlisle) in which was some French news, beside President Washington's speech at the opening of the session of Congress in January. Nothing seems so grateful and welcome here as a letter or newspaper. Slept with him [Captain Prince]. Spent part of the afternoon in the stockade,* talking with the doctor.

Wednesday, 24 February. After breakfast went to the stockade to the meeting of agents to excuse myself from attending on a committee which Colonel Meigs told me yesterday afternoon I was appointed upon, to fix the wages or compensation to the donation committee.† I went between ten and eleven, and the meeting was adjourned to to-morrow afternoon, three o'clock. This is a commission I do not like, for several reasons. In the afternoon I went to make a fire and prepare the house for Mr. M. and family to return home, which they did before night. Very high, blustering winds to-day. The long-expected (and second) raft of boards from Wolf Creek arrived this day, but left part on an island coming down. It has been peculiarly unfortunate for all concerned,—the delay and loss occasioned to the proprietors as well as those who have waited for them.

Thursday, 25 February, 1790. Very pleasant but very raw; cold wind and very blustering; so that Mr. Skinner's boat is obliged to return back this morning. They set out yesterday about noon, but it was too rough to proceed. They say the river rose again last night about a foot. At three o'clock went up to the stockade to agents' meeting. I excused myself from the committee to fix the compensa-

* The stockade, called the "Campus Martius," commenced soon after the settlement, for the protection of the people, is figured from a plan by Winthrop Sargent in Hildreth's history, p. 215, and is described at p. 227. It was not yet finished at the time of Mr. Wallcut's visit.

† The managers of the Ohio Company at Marietta had no power to give away, or even to sell, the Company's land, and many emigrants passed beyond to Kentucky or to the Miami settlements, who might have been induced to remain at Marietta. This defect was remedied by vote of the shareholders, and a donation committee appointed to select land for actual settlers. The conditions upon which lands were granted are given, from the records of the Company, in Hildreth's history, p. 214. The first donation committee, appointed February 6, 1789, as appears from one of Mr. Wallcut's extracts from the records of the Company, were Rufus Putnam, John Dodge, Griffin Greene, Alexander Oliver, Jonathan Devol, Robert Oliver, Return J. Meigs, Captain Dana, Nathan Goodale.

tion to the donation committee. Mr. Backus * was appointed in my room. A report was made, signed Wanton Casey,† chairman of the committee of ways and means for retrieving the credit of the Company funds. The subject of the salt springs which was agitated last week was again brought up. It was first moved by Mr. G. Greene (alias, he had the modesty to ask) that the great salt spring near the Scioto (if it falls within our purchase) should be given away to any one who would find it, &c. That motion did not obtain. At this meeting they (that is, General Tupper, Greene, &c.) came forward again by Colonel Oliver, making a motion that the undertakers should give five per cent to the Company.‡ It was debated some time, and opposed principally by Colonel Sproat,§ and finally referred to the next meeting on Monday next, 9 o'clock. Weather raw and variable. Colonel S. notified the people at meeting that he had warned and requested the people on the point to turn out and mend the bridges, &c. The agents agreed to meet him.

Friday, 26 February, 1790. Weather unsettled and variable. The Muskingum continues to rise; — about another foot from yesterday. About nine or ten o'clock Colonel Sproat comes and rallies all hands to clear the roads of the drifted timber, and mend the bridges that the flood had unsettled, and thrown up some of the timber. I

* This was probably Elijah Backus, from Connecticut, who emigrated early to Marietta. He purchased afterward Blennerhasset's Island.

† Wanton Casey was from Rhode Island, and belonged to the Belpre association. He returned to his native state after the Indian war. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 273, 387. Among these Wallcut papers is a copy of a letter, dated July, 1811, in which Mr. Casey describes his lands at Belpre, and offers them for sale.

‡ Salt was scarce, and commanded a very high price during the early days of the Ohio settlement. The existence of salt springs was known from the reports of white men taken captive by the Indians, and it was supposed that these springs were within the limits of the purchase of the Ohio Company. When the Scioto salt wells were discovered (by Mr. Greene in 1794), they were found to be beyond the Ohio Company's lines, and they finally became the property of the state. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 260, 405, 475; Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," p. 263. See also below, entry of 2 March.

§ Griffin Greene was a cousin of General Nathanael Greene. Colonel Robert Oliver was from Massachusetts, and was prominent in building the mills on Wolf Creek. Lives of both these pioneers are given by Dr. Hildreth.

§ Colonel Ebenezer Sproat was one of the surveyors of the Ohio Company, and came to Marietta with the first company of emigrants. He was appointed the first sheriff of Washington county, September 2, 1788. His biography is in Dr. Hildreth's collection.

assisted to mend the bridge near our house. It begins to rain when we had done work. After dinner went up to the stockade, and through the politeness of Colonel Meigs was permitted to read the records and to take some extracts from them; — viz.: respecting the conditions of donation land; and the naming of the city and a grant of a square to the Queen of France; also the names of squares, &c.* Had some conversation with Colonel Meigs about a spot for taking up a donation lot, &c. He says Old Town is the place which is now filling up for an association, — as it is the plan of the agents to proceed regularly down the Ohio and up the Muskingum in forming the settlements, so that the *Oxbow* seems to be the only opening at present for me to subscribe in.

Weather rainy and unsettled to-day. This morning arrived here a keel boat going down with a family to settle at Morgan's place among the Spaniards.† About the same time a Kentucky boat with flour for Mr. Greene, Woodbridge, &c. About noon arrived Captain Bullard of Virginia and old Mr. Hubbel of Connecticut, going with two large Kentucky boats of flour down to Orleans. They left the point in the evening. The doctor informs me of plenty of mussels and quahogs up the Muskingum and Wolf Creek; also of a beautiful large butterfly called the *Buffaloe*, among the natural curiosities of the country.

Saturday, 27 February, 1790. Some frost last night, but a beautiful pleasant and mild morning. Set out to go up to stockade again to-day: going up met Mr. Matthison, who informed me Colonel Meigs is gone to Duck Creek to-day to survey, but I shall have an opportunity in the afternoon to peruse the records again. A large Kentucky boat passed down the river this morning; another passed down soon after. About noon arrived a boat from — which brought a letter from General Putnam directed to — to be communicated to the agents and proprietors of the Ohio Company.§ After dinner went up to the stockade, and spent the afternoon in perusing and copying extracts from the records of the Company, till dark. A moderately pleasant and mild day. This evening Mr. Tilas favored me with the reading of four Pittsburg newspapers.

* These extracts from the records of the Ohio Company are still preserved among the Wallcut papers. They contain nothing that has not been printed already.

† Colonel George Morgan's settlement at New Madrid, in what is now the state of Missouri, commenced in 1788. See Monette's "Valley of the Mississippi," vol. i p. 475; Albach's "Western Annals," pp. 505, 506.

‡ General Putnam resigned his office of probate judge in December, 1789, and may have been at the East on business of the Company at this time. He was appointed United States judge for the Territory, March 31 of this year.

Lord's Day, 28 February. A very pleasant morning, the wind somewhat chilly. Shaved and dressed to go to meeting. Grown mild and warm but something windy so that the roads mend fast. Went to meeting to-day. In the evening wrote some observations on the salt springs.

Monday, 1 March, 1790. Went to agents' meeting this forenoon. The most of the time was taken up in discussing a question proposed by G. Greene, one of the directors, — whether Mr. Story* should be continued as a minister at the expense of the Ohio Company. A letter was read from General Rufus Putnam on the affairs of the Company, particularly that the resolution for a final division, he says, is disapproved of by non-residents as well as himself, &c., and advising a suspension of all further proceedings upon that, or any more surveys, for the present, as two hundred shares are found delinquent, and it is probable Congress will have to take back part of the lands, or so much as cannot be paid for. The salt springs were barely mentioned again, and it being late they adjourned after one, to meet again to-morrow morning. Upon a second invitation from Mr. D. Story, I dined with him at Captain Enoch Shepard's,† where he boards, who is brother to General Shepard.

I spent the afternoon in Colonel Meigs's chamber, taking off the names and numbers of lots lying each side of mine, &c. Also went to Mr. Charles Greene's and got the association for Old Town. Carried it home with me, and copied it to return to-morrow. Rain again to-day.

Tuesday, 2 March, 1790. Pleasant and mild this morning and fresh breezes; much frost last night. Went up to the stockade, and returned the paper to Mr. Greene, with my name to it for a lot in Old Town association. Went to the meeting. The time mostly spent as yesterday, but greater variety of questions. Mr. G. Greene and Colonel Oliver refused paying the exploring committee in any other but conditional orders, which produced some warmth in the debates between them and General Tupper, Major Goodale, &c.‡ Colonel

* For a sketch of the Rev. Daniel Story, the first settled minister in Marietta, see Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers," p. 325.

† Captain Enoch Shepard was a valuable citizen of Marietta, interested in the erection of mills, &c.

‡ Among Mr. Wallcut's extracts from the records of the directors and agents of the Ohio Company we find, under date of February 6, 1789, that Judge Parsons, Colonel Crary, and General Tupper were appointed a committee to reconnoitre the lands, and that they were to be paid one dollar a day for this service, and find their own provisions.

Sproat called upon me, and returned me as a grand jury man for next court; but I informed him I hoped to be on my journey home before that time. He also requested me to write a caption for subscription toward Mr. Story's support, which I did nearly in the following terms, as my memory serves me:—

“Whereas the worship and reverence of the Supreme Ruler of the world is essential to the well-being of society, and is the most solid foundation as well as the surest support of government and good morals, with every thing useful and ornamental to a civilized people; and whereas we, the subscribers, are impressed with a sense of the importance of these blessings, and of our obligations to secure and transmit them to our posterity to the latest generation, we do promise to give in money or labor what is affixed to our respective names, &c., &c.”

In the afternoon the meeting was held in Major Sargent's or Colonel Meigs's room, as Mrs. Winsor* was dying or dead of the small-pox. After all the business was over and an adjournment proposed for two weeks, I rose and said: “Mr. Chairman, I have understood that I have the privilege of speaking in this meeting.” This being assented to, I said that I had some observations of a public nature to make, which, as I was not used to public speaking, and to save their time as well as to give my ideas with more precision, I had committed to writing. And having leave to read them, I proceeded and read them through; and then observed, “Mr. Chairman, in addition to this, I think that General Putnam's letter corroborates some of the remarks I have just delivered.” General Tupper seemed in a hurry to go somewhere, and again called for an adjournment, as he had for several times. Colonel Oliver, a director, and this afternoon representing Colonel Sproat's agency, moved that as I had as a proprietor offered my sentiments upon a certain measure, by way of protest and remonstrance, it might be put on file (if agreeable to me). Colonel Meigs seconded the motion. General Tupper asked if it should be put on file or lay on the table. It was determined, I think *nem. con.*, that it should be filed. I then said: “Mr. Chairman, if the agents think it fit, I will sign it.” This being assented to, I signed and dated, and Colonel Meigs filed it. Mr. G. Greene, a director, then observed that as I was about to return home, I might be wrongly impressed with the sub-

* Christopher Winsor was on the grand jury with Mr. Wallcut. See note, p. 12. Dr. Hildreth says that six persons who took the small-pox by infection died, and two only of the hundred inoculated, and these aged people. See “Pioneer History,” p. 254.

ject, and made some observations tending to efface any misconceptions of the subject. I did not see the force or aptness of his remarks, and replied that the matter struck me differently. His remarks were intended to show the impracticability of making the springs a reserved lot; he said it could not be, and that the object of his motion was to prevent the spring from falling into the hands of any individual. I then asked him how that could be the intent of his motion, when he had proposed to give it away to any one, or any number, who would find it out, &c., &c.* The agents being all upon the go, and having other business to attend, the meeting was adjourned for a fortnight. I went to Mr. Gridley's to inform him of the probability of my going next Saturday, that he might have his letters ready, &c. Was urged to stay and take a dish of coffee, which I did. Entering into conversation about the country, donations, settlements, &c., I made out half-past eight o'clock, and went home in the dark, which was very great, with extreme high winds and some rain, the roads very miry. I had a bad time on't. A strange and sudden reverse of good and bad fortune. While we were in Colonel Meigs's chamber at agents' meeting, some people from Wolf Creek informed Major White † that his boards are not lost, but that the half of the raft which lay under water in the flood now appears on an island.

Wednesday, 3 March, 1790. I expected from the fine temperature of the weather for yesterday and some time past, that we should have no more winter, but I was disappointed this morning. In the latter part of the night and this morning we had a pretty smart snow-storm,

* Among Mr. Wallcut's loose papers is a draught of his remarks on the salt springs, perhaps the observations he says he wrote on the Sunday evening before. He objects to the proposal of Mr. Greene to give the springs to the finder, or to lease them for five per cent. He speaks of the uncertainty whether the great springs will be found to be within the bounds of the Company's purchase, and proposes two alternatives, if they be so found. I. That they be reserved as a public lot, the common property of the whole Company, and, after due notice, sold at auction, the proceeds to be kept as a fund for future contingencies and expenses of the Company. The prospect of this will, he thinks, improve the financial condition of the Company. II. As two of the directors have already been empowered to ask Congress for a charter and aid in founding a university, he suggests that these springs be reserved as a grant to the university, and if that project fail, that they make a fund for the support and encouragement of schoolmasters and ministers.

† Major Hatfield White, from Danvers, Massachusetts, was commissary of the first party of emigrants. With Colonel Robert Oliver and Captain Dodge, he built the mills at Wolf Creek. There is a short biographical sketch of him in Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Early Pioneers," p. 396.

with high wind about westerly, but variable. In cutting off a large beech log I felt the force of the cold as sensibly as I have at home often on a winter morning. Very high winds and extreme cold for this country. This is a very sudden and great change of weather from Monday and Tuesday, and indicates, with other instances, the climate as inconstant as Massachusetts. It has grown more moderate this afternoon. Went to Mr. Gilman's, who was so kind as to give me the distances, &c., on the Clarksburg road, extracted from his son's letter.* Called at Mr. Fearing's; not at home.

Thursday, 4 March, 1790. Weather much moderated, though still cold enough. About noon arrived the contractor's boat with provisions, very seasonably, as the garrison had short commons lately.† Went to Mr. Fearing's again to-day. He was not at home. Went up to the stockade again, and got from Colonel Meigs the distances of places on the Ohio. By way of apology, introduced to him the subject of my protest. He says he thinks I was right and justifiable in conduct. He thinks Mr. Greene probably knows more about the spring than he talks of publicly. Went to Captain Knowles's and Mr. Burnham's, and returned him Hutches's pamphlet about Western Territory, &c.‡ Went to Colonel Battelle's to inform them of my going on Saturday or Sabbath next. Drank tea with them. Introduced to him also the subject of my conduct at agents' meeting. He thought I was justifiable and right in doing it; said he had spoken with some of the agents afterward, who thought well of it.

Friday, 5 March, 1790. Weather unsettled and variable. Spent most of the day reading Tytler's edition of Salmon's Grammar Geographical.§ Wind high and raw. About twelve o'clock William and

* This sentence has been interlined, but Mr. Wallcut has written "N. B. this is right and should not have been scratched out."

† By the middle of May, says Hildreth, the scarcity of food was felt generally. An early frost had spoiled the corn crop of the previous summer, and the woods had been ruined of game. There was quite a famine for a time. See *Pioneer History*, pp. 264-266.

‡ This was Francis Hutches's "Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers of Ohio, Kentucky, South Carolina, Walash's, Ohio's Mississippi, &c." Sm. 8vo pp. ii, 10, Boston, 1787. It is quite rare. Dr. Beeknap's copy is preserved in this Society's library.

§ Tytler's Salmon's "Geographical and Historical Grammar" was once a very popular book. Many editions were published since after the author's death. In Harvard College library is one, a copy of the thirteenth edition, published in 1785, with a new preface and dedication, but we cannot connect the name of Tytler with it.

John Sprague, Henry Bagley, and John Gardner (the same who escaped from the Indians)* set out from Muskingum point in a canoe to go hunting down the Ohio. Instead of crossing directly over to the garrison point and keeping the shore, they imprudently and unnecessarily went straight into the Ohio; and the wind blowing very fresh and making a considerable surge, the canoe being pretty heavy loaded, it overset about the middle of the Ohio in a rapid current, and all four of them came very near drowning. But by the timely exertions and assistance from the fort they were all happily recovered. If they had been a quarter or half a mile down the stream they must probably have perished before any help could have been afforded to them. Gardner kept his rifle in one hand a long time, but was obliged to let it go before the help came up to them. In the evening read the journal of the exploring committee who were out in August, 1789, down the Ohio.

Saturday, 6 March, 1790. Pleasant most of the day, but high winds. Assisted Colonel Oliver and Major White to get a pair of millstones aboard a boat to go to their mill up to Wolf Creek. They have had an uncommon series of good and ill luck: first lost a large raft of boards; then their boat carried away down stream, but stopped at Belle Prè and all saved; but before it could be brought up back again the boat and millstones carried away again by the ice, the provisions and a great variety of articles being before taken out were saved; then another raft of boards lost, and part of them since saved and recovered; the remainder, which was supposed to be lost, has appeared since the water fell, found upon an island in the Muskingum. In the midst of this, while they are at Marietta preparing to go up with another pair of stones, Major White has his house burned at Wolf Creek, in which he says he has lost clothing and papers and almost every thing he had. *But they are in good spirits*, and do not seem at all discouraged.

Mr. Fearing has several times expressed his friendship for me, or manifested an approbation and pleasure with my conduct, and says he is sorry I am going away, and loath to part with me, and hopes I shall come again.† Several others have spoken directly to me, or by some other person, I have understood them to be of the same mind. Colonel

* John Gardner was of the party that settled Waterford. His adventure with the Indians is told in Hildreth's history, pp. 126-128.

† Among Mr. Wallcut's papers are two letters from Mr. Fearing. In the first, dated November 14, 1790, he renews the hope that his friend will yet return and settle in Ohio.

Oliver, Coffey, Meigs, Captain Prioleu, Mr. Gilley, and some others have shown me such hospitality. It seems I have somewhat pleased them. I have a feeling, however, that from what I can learn, my return will be a long time. This affords me great pleasure and gives me satisfaction, with the satisfaction that my conduct has been generally pleasing. I have some reason to think from what Commodore Whipple told me, that my return will be agreeable to Major Sargent, and that he would assist me in business in his way. Major White, Esq. the Wells and his sons, Mr. Rockwell, Mr. Bent, Messrs. Buell, Mansell, Colonel Bartlett, Messrs. Mills, Barker, Mr. Story and brother, Captain Shepard, Mr. Tins, Skinner, Russes, and a number of others, always treat me with respect, and some of them have given me indirect praise. Mr. Woodbridge and his brother Backus treat me with respect, but with more reserve, and coldness that looks like suspicion.

This day settled with Mr. Moody for my board, and the doctor's, including to-morrow, as follows:—

Dr. ——— to N. M. Dr.

1789.

Oct. 29.	To board from 29 Oct. 1789, to the 7 March, 1790,*	
	inclusive, being 139 days, or 18 weeks and 4	
	days, @ 3 6 per week, including washing and	£ s. d.
	mending, &c.	3 4 6
	To making two shirts @ 2	0 4 0
		<hr/>
		£3 8 6

Errors excepted, N. Moody.

Received Payment.

NATH'L MOODY.

THOMAS WALLCUT to NATHANIEL MOODY, Dr.*

1789.

Oct. 26.	To board from 26 October, 1789, to the 7 March, 1790, inclusive, 1790, deducting 25 days, is 105 days, } £ s. d.
	@ 7½ per week) 5 5 0
	To 6 pounds pork @ 7/4 per pound 0 2 0
	To washing 32 pieces @ 7/3 per piece 0 8 0
	To sundries, snuff, whiskey, bread, &c. 0 6 5
	<hr/>
	£6 1 5

We are now ready, or shall be, to start to cross the Ohio to-morrow afternoon. We intend to sleep at Williams's,† and start from there by.

* The originals of these bills are preserved among the Wallcut papers, and we find also two letters from Mr. Moody.

† Isaac Williams, a pioneer in Western Virginia. See note in Colonel May's journal, p. 79, and a biography in Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers," p. 476.

or before sunrise. This, we expect, will save us two or three hours, rather than to cross from home in the morning. We hope by this to get through to Clarksburg in three days, and sleep but two nights in the woods.

Lord's Day, 7 March, 1790. Pleasant, but high winds; weather variable. After shaving went up to the stockade to meeting. After meeting took leave of my friends and acquaintance that were there, being prepared and ready to cross the Ohio in the afternoon. At dinner Colonel Meigs, Mr. Fearing, and others brought me letters for their friends, which I stowed away, tied up in my saddle-bags. The minister gave notice that Divine service would be attended next Sabbath at Mr. Munsell's hall on the point.

My acquaintance here discover a politeness and attention that much affects me, several offering their service to help us over the river. The gentlemen of our family, with Captain Mills, Mr. Barker, Mr. Bent, &c., propose to get Mr. Mitchell's large boat and carry us over to the Virginia shore. Messrs. Dodge and Proctor, our company, with the doctor, being all ready and together, the wind blew so fresh, and a large surge in the Ohio, with a snow-storm, that most of our friends think it not prudent for us to cross until the wind abates. We waited for the lulling of the storm till sunset, and then gave over the prospect of going over the river to-night. However, I propose to sleep on the floor with the doctor, to-night, that I may be ready early, before day. Mr. Mayo arrived from Belle Prè with letters from himself and Captain Ingersol, &c.

Monday, 8 March, 1790. Pleasant, clear, cold, and high winds. We were up before sunrise, and got some hot breakfast, coffee and toast; and Captain Prince, Mr. Moody, Mr. Skinner, Captain Mills and brother, Mr. Bent, &c., accompanied us over the river to Sargent's or Williams's, and took leave of us about nine o'clock, and we proceeded on our journey. We had gone but a little way when we found the path so blind that we could not proceed with certainty, and I was obliged to go back and get a young man to come and show us the way. When we had got back to our companions again, they had found the road, and we walked twenty miles this day. Weather raw, chilly, and a little snow. The country after about five or six miles from the Ohio is very broken and uneven, with high and sharp hills.

Tuesday, 9 March, 1790. The weather for the most part of the day pleasant, but cold winds, northerly. The country very rough, the hills high and sharp. One third of the road must go over and on the ridges, and another third through the valleys. We walked this day

about twenty-three or twenty-four miles, and slept near the forty-fourth or forty-fifth mile tree.

Wednesday, 10 March, 1790. Weather raw and moist. To-day we crossed several of the large creeks and waters that fall into the Ohio. This occasioned a loss of much time, waiting for the horse to come over for each one, which he did as regularly as a man would. The country much the same, but rather better to-day, except that a great deal of the road runs along through the streams, and down the streams such a length with the many bridges that will be wanted, that it will be a vast expense, besides the risk and damage of being carried away every year by the floods. We had so much trouble in crossing these streams that at last we forded them on foot. One of the largest in particular, after we had rode it several times, we waded it four or five times almost knee-deep, and after that a number of times on logs, or otherwise, without going in water. Two of the streams, I doubt not, we crossed as often as twenty times each.* We walked this day about fifteen miles.

Thursday, 11 March, 1790. With much fatigue and pain in my left leg, we walked about fifteen miles to-day. They all walked better than I, and had got to Carpenter's and had done their dinner about two o'clock when I arrived. They appear to be good farmers and good livers, have a good house, and seem very clever people. Mr. C. is gone down the country. They have been a frontier here for fifteen years, and have several times been obliged to move away. I got a dish of coffee and meat for dinner, and paid ninepence each, for the doctor and me. We set off, and crossed the west branch of the Monongahela over to Clarksburch. The doctor paid his own ferriage. We went to Major Robinson's, and had tea and meat, &c., for supper. I paid ninepence each, for the doctor and me. Weather dull and unpleasant, as yesterday.

Friday, 12 March, 1790. Weather good and pleasant to-day. We set off before sunrise and got a little out of our road into the Morgantown road, but soon got right again. We breakfasted at Webb's mill, a good house and clever folks. Had coffee, meat, &c.; paid sixpence each, for me and the doctor. Lodged at Wickware's, who says he is a Yankee, but is a very disagreeable man for any country, rough and

* A large map of Virginia, made in 1826, by Herman Boye, a copy of which was presented to the Library of this Society by the General Assembly of that state, shows that Mollie Island Creek and its numerous branches were the streams that Mr. Wallcut and his party encountered.

ugly, and he is very dear. I paid one shilling apiece for the doctor's and my supper, upon some tea made of mountain birch, perhaps black birch, stewed pumpkin, and sodden meat. Appetite supplies all deficiencies.*

Saturday, 13 March, 1790. Beautiful weather all day. Set off not so early this morning as yesterday. The doctor paid his ferriage himself. Mr. Moore, a traveller toward his home in Dunker's Bottom, Fayette County, Pennsylvania,† set out with us. He seems a very mild, good-natured, obliging old gentleman, and lent me his horse to ride about two miles, while he drove his pair of steers on foot. The doctor and I being both excessively fatigued, he with a pain in his knee, and mine in my left leg, but shifting about, were unable to keep up with our company, and fell much behind them. Met Mr. Carpenter on his return home. He appears to be a very clever man. When we had come to Field's,‡ I found Mr. Dodge had left his horse for us to ride, and to help us along, which we could not have done without. We got a dish of tea without milk, some dried smoked meat and hominy for dinner; and from about three o'clock to nine at night, got to Ramsay's. Seven miles of our way were through a new blazed path where they propose to cut a new road. We got out of this in good season, at sundown or before dark, into the wagon road, and forded Cheat River on our horses. Tea, meat, &c., for supper. Old Simpson§ and Horton, a constable, had a terrible scuffle here this evening.

Lord's Day, 14 March, 1790. Mr. Dodge is hurrying to go away again. I tell him I must rest to-day. I have not written any thing worth mention in my journal since I set out, until to-day, and so must do it from memory. I want to shave a beard seven days old,

* Mr. Wallcut paid the expenses of his companion, the doctor, on this journey, and among these Wallcut papers we find a memorandum of money spent for him. In it Wickware's is called Wickware's Ferry. The river crossed must have been the Tygart's Valley, or east branch of the Monongahela, and on Böye's map there is a Wickwire's Creek, not far from Three Fork's Creek, which empties into the Tygart's Valley River near the old southern line of Monongalia County.

† There is a Dunkard's Creek in the southern part of the present Greene county, Pennsylvania (the next county to Fayette), and a township along its banks called Dunkard. There is also a district in Preston county, Virginia, on Cheat River, called Dunker's Bottom.

‡ On Böye's map is a Field's Creek just east of Laurel Mountain.

§ There was a famous hunter and trapper named John Simpson who gave his name to a creek in Western Virginia. This may have been the person.

and change a shirt about a fortnight dirty ; and my fatigue makes rest absolutely necessary. So take my rest this day, whether he has a mind to go or stay with us. Eat very hearty of hominy or boiled corn with milk for breakfast, and boiled smoked beef and pork for dinner, with turnips. After dinner shaved and shirted me, which took till near night, it being a dark house, without a bit of window, as indeed there is scarce a house on this road that has any.*

Monday, 15 March, 1790. Waited and got some tea for breakfast, before we set out. Settled with Ramsay, and paid him 9*d.* per meal, for five meals, and half-pint whiskey 6*d.* The whole came to eight shillings. Weather very pleasant most of the day. We walked to Brien's about half-past six o'clock, which they call twenty-four miles. We eat a little fried salt pork and bit of vension at Friends',† and then crossed the great Youghiogheny. About two miles further on, we crossed the little *ditto* at Boyles's. My thoroughgimbles ‡ are stopped ; five or six times to-day they have arrested me. Poor Dodge is the worst, he has had about thirty bouts, and they last him till night ; mine stopped at noon : the doctor and Proctor not so much affected. We walked about or near an hour after dark, and were very agreeably surprised to find ourselves at Brien's instead of Stackpole's, which is four miles further than we expected. Eat a bit of Indian bread, and the woman gave us each about half a pint of milk to drink, which was all our supper.

Tuesday, 16 March, 1790. We were up this morning, and away about or before sunrise, and ascended the backbone of the Alleghany, and got breakfast at Williams's. I cannot keep up with my company. It took me till dark to get to Davis's.§ Messrs. Dodge and Proctor had gone on before us about three miles to Dawson's.|| We got some bread and butter and milk for supper, and drank a quart of cider. Mr. Davis was originally from Ashford, county of Windham, Connecticut ; has been many years settled in this country ; has married twice,

* Mr. Wallcut leaves a blank space here, and writes the heading " Character of Old Simpson."

† Friendsville is a village on the east bank of the Youghiogheny, about seven miles south of the Pennsylvania line. This may be the place where the party crossed the river. See Fisher's " Gazetteer of the State of Maryland."

‡ Thorough go Nimble, a looseness, a violent purging. Gross's " Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue," *s. v.*

§ The memoranda of expenses calls this " Old Davis's on the Potomac."

|| Fisher's " Gazetteer " gives Dawson's as a post office in Alleghany county, on the north-west side of the Potomac River, eleven miles south-west of Cumberland.

and got many children. His cider in a brown mug seemed more like home than any thing I have met with.

Wednesday, 17 March. We were up this morning before day, and were set off before it was cleverly light. Got to Dawson's, three miles, where Messrs. D. & P. lodged, and got some tea for breakfast and set off in good season, the doctor and I falling behind. As it is very miry, fatiguing walking, and rainy, which makes extremely painful walking in the clay and mud, we could not keep up with D. We stopped about a mile and a half from the Methodist meeting near the cross roads at Cressops,* and four from Cumberland, and got some fried meat and eggs, milk, butter, &c., for dinner, which was a half pistareen each. After dinner the doctor and I walked into Cumberland village about three o'clock, and put up at Herman Stitche's or Stidger's. We called for two mugs of cider, and got tea, bread and butter, and a boiled leg of fresh young pork for supper. The upper part of the county of Washington has lately been made a separate county, and called Alleghany, as it extends over part of that mountain, and reaches to the extreme boundary of Maryland. The courts, it is expected, will be fixed and held at this place, Cumberland, which will probably increase its growth, as it thrives pretty fast already. We supped and breakfasted here; paid 2s. for each, the doctor and me. Pleasant fine weather this day. My feet exceedingly sore, aching, throbbing, and beating. I cannot walk up with my company.

Thursday, 18 March. Paid Mr. Dodge 6s. advance. A very fine day. We stayed and got breakfast at Stitche's, and walked from about eight o'clock to twelve, to Old Town, and dined at Jacob's, and then walked to Dakins's to lodge, where we got a dish of Indian or some other home coffee, with a fry of chicken and other meat for supper. This is the first meal I have paid a shilling L. M. for. The country very much broken and hilly, sharp high ridges, and a great deal of pine. About . . . miles from Old Town, the north and south branches of the Potomac join. We walked twenty-five miles to-day.†

Friday, 19 March, 1790. Very fine weather again to-day. We walked twenty-four miles to McFerren's in Hancock, and arrived there, sun about half an hour high. McFerren says this town has

* Cressap Town is six miles south-west of Cumberland on the state road. See Fisher's "Gazetteer."

† In his memorandum of expenses, Mr. Wallcut enters "dinner at Jacob's in Skipton or Fort, tenpence." The branches of the Potomac join only a few miles below Old Town.

been settled about ten or twelve years, and is called for the man who laid it out or owned it, and not after Governor Hancock. It is a small but growing place of about twenty or thirty houses, near the bank of the Potomac, thirty-five miles below Old Town, and five below Fort Cumberland; twenty-four above Williamsport, and ninety-five above Georgetown. We slept at McFerren's, a so-so house. He insisted on our sleeping in beds, and would not permit sleeping on the floors. We all put our feet in soak in warm water this evening. It was recommended to us by somebody on the road, and I think they feel the better for it.*

Saturday, 20 March. A very fine day again. We have had remarkably fine weather on this journey hitherto. But two days we had any rain, and then but little. We stayed and got breakfast at McFerren's, and set out about eight o'clock, and walked about twenty-one miles this day to Thompson's,† about half a mile from Buchanan's‡ in the Cove Gap in the North Mountain. My feet do not feel quite so bad this day, as they have some days. I expect they are growing stronger and fitter for walking every day, though it has cost me a great deal of pain, throbbing, beating, and aching to bring them to it. It seems the warm water last night did me some good.

Lord's Day, 21 March, 1790. We set off this morning before daylight was clear, and went a pretty smart step till about half-past eight brought us to Campbell's,§ which is eight miles in about two hours and a half. Got a good breakfast and set off immediately. We walked very smartly and very steadily, and they got to McKaulis's in Shippensburg,|| the sun an hour high; the doctor a little later, and I

* In his memorandum of expenses for the 19th, Mr. Wallcut has "Breakfast at Tonyn's the Irishman, one shilling"; and "one pint of cider at Widow Farrels', sign of the Swan, fourpence."

† In his memoranda Mr. Wallcut puts "Airetown" after Thompson's. Ayr is a township of Fulton county. See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 767.

‡ This was probably James Buchanan, the father of the thirteenth President of the United States. See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 758; Day's "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," p. 354.

§ In Reading Howell's large map of Pennsylvania, 1792, many of the taverns on the great road to the West are indicated. This of Campbell's is between London and Chambersburg. Mr. Wallcut's memorandum locates it in Petersburg. See also Dr. Harris's "Journal of a Tour to Ohio," p. 72, which places it at the "Cold Springs."

|| Shippensburg is one of the oldest towns in Pennsylvania, west of the Susquehanna river, and in the early days of Western travel was a place of considerable importance. See Egle's "Pennsylvania," p. 631.

got in just at sunset. On the way, about one o'clock, we stopped and got oats, &c., for the horse, and we got a pint of milk apiece. The doctor seems out of humor with something. He asked for bread and a half-pint more, and he had it. The road has grown very fine comparatively, and the weather is exceedingly fine, almost too warm to travel in. Went in the evening and heard a Mr. Copeley, an Englishman and Methodist, pray, &c. He was concluding when I got there. He has a son who lives in this place, and wants to write by me to a brother he has at the manufactory in Hartford. He appears to be a traveller, &c.; but whether he may be called a travelling preacher or exhorter, I know not. We made a hearty supper of tea and fresh pork fried, and went to bed — that is, to lie on the plank as usual — about nine.

Monday, 22 March, 1790. Up and away before sunrise, and walked to breakfast to McCracken's.* He has been an officer in the continental army. I find it will not do for me to try any longer to keep up with my company, and as they propose going through Reading, and we through Philadelphia, we must part to-night or to-morrow. I conclude to try another seven miles, and if I cannot keep up, we part at Semple's, the next stage. They got to Semple's† before me, and waited for me. I conclude to stay and dine here, and part with Messrs. Proctor and Dodge. I am so dirty; my beard the ninth day old, and my shirt the time worn, that I cannot with any decency or comfort put off the cleaning any longer. I again overhauled the letters, as I had for security and care taken all into my saddle-bags. I sorted them and gave Mr. Dodge his, with what lay more direct in his way to deliver, and took some from him for Boston and my route.

I paid Mr. Dodge three shillings more in addition to six shillings I had paid him before at the Widow Carrel's,‡ according to our agreement at twelve shillings to Philadelphia; and as we had gone together and he had carried our packs three hundred miles (wanting two), it was near the matter. He supposed I should do right to give him a shilling more. I told him as I had agreed with him at the rate of fifty pounds, when they did not weigh above thirty-five, and at the rate of going up to Pitt instead of returning, which is but half price,

* Mr. Wallcut says (memoranda of expenses) that Captain McCracken's is in the township of Newton. It is laid down on Howell's map as about six miles from Shippensburg.

† Semple's or Sample's is in West Pennsboro', according to Mr. Wallcut's memorandum. See also Colonel May's journal, p. 105.

‡ See entry of Thursday, the 18th inst.

I thought it was a generous price, and paid him accordingly as by agreement. We wished each other a good journey, and Mr. Proctor the doctor, and I drank a mug of cider together. When we had got cleaned, a wagoner came along very luckily, and dined with us, and going our way, we put our packs in his wagon, and rode some to help. We gave him a quarter of a dollar for this half day and to-morrow. We got to Carlisle in the evening and put up with Adam at Lutz's.

This Carlisle is said to be extremely bad in wet weather. It probably is nearly or quite as bad as Pittsburg, Marietta, Albany.* I went to Lutz's because Adam puts up there, he being of his nation, but it is a miserable house, and Adam says he is sorry he carried us there. The victuals were good, but they are dirty, rough, impolite. We supped on bread and milk, and Lutz would insist on our sleeping in a bed and not on the floor; so we did so.

Tuesday, 23 March, 1790. A pleasant day and the roads very much dried, so that the travelling is now comfortable. We dined at Callender's in more fashion than since I left home. Adam stopped at Simpson's so long that it was dark when we got over the river to Chambers's, where we stopped another half hour.† Set off about seven o'clock, and got to Toot's about eleven. All abed, but Adam got us a bit of bread and butter, and made us a fire in the stove, and we lay on the floor.‡

Wednesday, 24 March, 1790. Old Toot is a crabbed . . . He has been scolding and swearing at Adam all this morning about something that I cannot understand. It has rained last night, and the roads are again intolerable. Adam says he cannot go again until his father says the word, and that may not be this two or three days. But we cannot go and carry our packs on our backs now, the roads are so bad, and we should gain nothing to walk, but spend our strength to little or on purpose. We must wait for a wagon to go along our way, and join it, or wait for the roads to grow better.

Carried our dirty things to wash; two shirts, two pair stockings, and one handkerchief for me; two shirts, two pair stockings, and one

* There is a good account of Carlisle in Dr. Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," pp. 623-631.

† Callender's is laid down on Howell's map about five miles beyond Carlisle. Simpson's and Chambers's are on opposite banks of the Susquehanna river, a short distance below Harrisburg.

‡ Mr. Wallcut's memorandum of expenses shows that "Old Toot's" was in Middletown.

pair trousers for the doctor. Went to several places to look for shoes for the doctor. He could not fit himself at the shoemakers, and bought a pair in a store for 8s. 1/4. Pennsylvania, or 6s. 8/4. our currency. We went to Henry Moore's, the sign of the two Highlanders. I drank a quart of beer and dined. Old Toot is a supervisor, and is gone to Harrisburg to-day, to settle some of his business.

Thursday, 25 March, 1790. The sun rises and shines out so bright to-day that I am in hopes the roads will be better, at least, when we go. Old Toot could not finish his business yesterday, and is gone again to-day. He is uncertain when he shall send Adam forward to Philadelphia, perhaps not until Monday. It will not do for us to stay, if we can somehow get along sooner. Time hangs heavy on our hands, but we do what we can to kill it. The doctor and I went down to Moore's and dined together, which was a shilling L. M. apiece. We then came back to Toot's and drank a pint of cider-royal* together. The house is for the most part of the day filled with Germans, who talk much, but we cannot understand them. We have coffee and toast, or meat for breakfast, and mush and milk for supper. Our time is spent in the most irksome manner possible; eating and drinking, and sleeping and yawning, and attending to the conversation of these Dutch. In the evening the house is crowded with the neighbors, &c., and for the . . . † Old Toot says, and Adam too, that he will not go till Monday. This is very discouraging.

Friday, 26 March, 1790. A very dull prospect to-day. It rained very hard in the night, and continues to rain this morning. No wagons are passing, and none coming that we can hear of. We have no prospect now but to stay and go with Adam on Monday. We stay at home to-day and murder our time. We read McFingal, or Ballads, or whatever we can pick up. We had coffee and toast and fresh fried veal for breakfast, and ate heartily, and so we eat no dinner. The doctor goes out and buys us 8/4. worth of cakes, and we get a half-pint of whiskey, which makes us a little less sad. In comes a man to inquire news, &c., of two men from Muskingum. He had heard Thompson's report, which had made so much noise and disquiet all through the country. He had three Harrisburg papers with him, which give us a little relief in our dull and unwelcome situation. At dark there come in

* Cider royal was "made by boiling three or four barrels of fresh apple-cider down to one or less, thus adding to its strength as a beverage." Atkinson's "History of Kanawha County," p. 188.

† There is a line left blank here.

two men with a wagon and want lodging, &c. They stay this night, and with them we find an opportunity of going forward as far as Lancaster, which we are determined to embrace.

Saturday, 27 March, 1790. We stay and get a good breakfast before we set out, and agree to give Mr. Bailey 2s. L. M. for carrying our baggage. This is higher than any thing it has cost us on the road in proportion, but we cannot help it. It is better than to waste so much time in a tavern. It rains steadily, and the road is all mud and water. Before I got on a hundred rods I am half-leg deep in mire. Set off about eight o'clock, and overtook the wagon about two miles ahead. However, it clears off before night, and the sun shines warm, and the roads mend fast. We made a stay in Elizabethtown about two hours to feed and rest. The doctor and I had two quarts of beer and some gingerbread and buckwheat cakes for dinner. We got to Colonel Peden's to lodge, which is eighteen miles through an intolerable bad road, to-day.* (Elizabethtown, about fifty houses; Middletown, about an hundred houses.) We paid our landlady this evening, as we are to start so early in the morning it would not do to wait till the usual time of getting up to pay them, and we have got nine miles to go to reach Lancaster.

Lord's Day, 28 March, 1790. We started this morning at day dawn, and got to — at the Black Horse, four and a half miles to breakfast. The wagon went by us, and fed at Shoop's. I left the doctor with them and to take care of the things, and walked into the town before them. Stopped at Gross's, the Spread Eagle, and left word for the doctor, which they never told him. I heard the bell ring for church just as I got here, which made me go into town after waiting some time for them. Took leave of Mr. Bailey, &c.† I went to the English Episcopal Church, and then went back to look for the doctor, and he looking for me; we were some time in chase, and missed each other. Found we could not get served at the Angel, so took our baggage and walked down to Doersh's, who keeps the stage. Got dinner here. Shaved, shirted, put on my boots, and went out into town. Stopped at the court-house and heard a Methodist. Walked further about; stopped and looked into the Catholic chapel, and talked with the priest. Looked into the churches, such as I could, and re-

* Mr. Wallcut notes in his expenses for this day, "to Fisher's ferriage over Sweetara Creek, twopence"; and "supper at Colonel Peden's in Raphoe, ten-pence." Raphoe is a township in the northern part of Lancaster County.

† Mr. Wallcut notes among his expenses, "paid David Bailey for carrying pack to Lancaster, one shilling."

turned to tea at sundown. Spent the remainder of the time till bed reading newspapers. Washed my feet and went to bed just before ten.

Monday, 29 March, 1790. After breakfast the doctor and I took a ramble about the town, to look at it and to inquire if we could find any wagon going to Philadelphia, that we can get our baggage carried. The most likely place we can hear of is to go to the Creek, about a mile from town. Immediately after our walk we settled and paid, and set out at just eleven o'clock. Paid toll over Conestoga bridge, and stopped at Locher's, at the Indian King, two miles from Lancaster, and drank a quart of beer. It was not good. Dined at Blesser's, on a cold meal, which was *8d.* L. M. apiece. Got to Hamilton's at Salsbury, a very good house; nineteen miles.* This is more than I expected when I set out at eleven o'clock. A very good supper; rye mush and milk, cold corn beef, and apple pie on the table. But *8d.* L. M. for supper and lodging apiece. We have had very good weather for travelling, and the roads are drying fast. In hopes that we shall find some wagon going on the Philadelphia road, that we may get our packs carried part of the way.

Tuesday, 30 March, 1790. We walked twenty-four miles this day, that is, from Hamilton's to Fahustock's. Very pleasant weather, suitable for travelling; not too warm nor too cold. My feet very tender and sore, but we keep along steady. Got to Fahustock's, Admiral Warren, about eight o'clock. Got some bread and milk for supper. The doctor had nothing but a pint of cider for his supper. We slept well, considering my being excessively fatigued. The post overtook us.†

Wednesday, 31 March. Stayed to breakfast this morning, which was very good, but I do not like the practice, at least I do not seem to need eating meat with breakfast every morning. I sometimes eat it two or three times a day because it is set before me, and it is the fashion to have meat always on the table. We dined about seven miles from Philadelphia;‡ crossed the Schuylkill about sunset, and walked into town about dark. Crossed the Schuylkill over the floating bridge, and paid our toll, *1d.* Pennsylvania each. After looking and walking about a good deal, we stopped, and went into the Widow Paul's, who said she

* Blesser's was in Leacock township, and Hamilton's sign was the Bull. These notes are from Mr. Wallcut's memoranda of expenses.

† Mr. Wallcut notes as his expenses for the 30th March, "breakfast at Ashe's in West Calne, eightpence," and "dinner and one gill whiskey at Downing's, one shilling and twopence." These places are in Chester County.

‡ Mr. Wallcut notes among his expenses, "cold dinner with cider at Sticker's, seven miles from Philadelphia."

was full, and sent us to Mr. Samuel Davis at the White Horse, where we lodged.*

Thursday, 1 April, 1790. Fine, pleasant weather; very much fatigued. About ten or eleven got rested, and shaved, and then walked out to see the town, market, &c. Inquired for some cloth; found a good and handsome raven black at Hugh Ferguson's and Daniel Lapsley's. In the evening Dr. Thomas, the doctor, and I went to St. Paul's, and heard Mr. Pilmore preach a sermon preparatory to fast, it being Good Friday to-morrow.†

Friday, 2 April. Went to St. Peter's Church this forenoon, where Bishop White read the service, and Mr. Belm preached.‡ In the afternoon (it rained excessive hard) went to Christ Church, and heard Mr. Blackwell. Afterward went to the new German chapel and saw the holy sepulchre, &c. Could not get in at the other chapels.

Saturday, 3 April, 1790. A very fine day after the rain. Went over the way across the market, and had some conversation with Friend Joseph Cruikshank.§ who appears not only a friend by profession, but friendly indeed. Our talk was mostly on the Indians and negroes, and he gave me six pamphlets to disperse, and a number of others for myself, and I bought five or six of him amounting to 2s. 9d. or 2s. 10d. L. M.

Went to Lapsley's and bought two and a quarter yards raven black superfine cloth at five dollars per yard. Got 2¼ for eleven dollars. Bought lining and trimmings at Friend Amos Taylor's, amounting to 11s. 10d. Pennsylvania. Carried all to David Brooks|| to make, who first wet it as I directed, and I went with him and saw it. In the afternoon went to the button manufacturer's, and to see the almshouse and hospital,—“*No entrance without paying sixpence*”: but a half pistareen

* Samuel Davis kept at No. 2 Elbow Lane, a small lane running south from High (now Market) Street, between Second and Third Streets.

† Biddle's Philadelphia Directory for 1791 has a David Lapsley, a storckeeper. Robert Thomas was a druggist at No. 9 North Third Street. The Rev. Joseph Pilmore was an Episcopal clergyman, at this time the assistant at St. Paul's Church. He had been in early life a follower of Wesley. See Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. v. pp. 266-270.

‡ The Rev. Joseph G. Bend was an assistant minister of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's from 1787 to 1791. See Dorr's "Historical Account of Christ Church," p. 212. He is doubtless the person intended.

§ Joseph Cruikshank was a printer and bookseller at No. 91 High Street. See Biddle's Directory.

|| David Brooks was a tailor at No. 9 Elbow Lane, close by the inn where Mr. Wallcut lodged.

was the first bit I happened to take out, and I would not change it, so gave the whole. I visited the crazy rooms, and cells, &c.* Went into the new chapel again on my return, and found the tomb taken down. Wrote a letter this evening to G. R. Minot, Esq.

Lord's Day, 4 April, 1790. The doctor and I took a walk this morning down to the wharves, and left a letter with Captain Norton "Polly, of Martha's Vineyard," for G. R. Minot, Esq. She sails this forenoon.

This forenoon went to the Old Chapel and the Second Chapel, and heard mass, and Father Beeston preach. Afternoon went again to hear Father Fleming,† but was disappointed. The young German priest sang vespers. In the evening went to the great Presbyterian Church (Dr. Sproat and Mr. Green)‡ and heard Mr. Blair preach from "Who knoweth what is good for man all the days of his life?"

Monday, 5 April, 1790. A fine, pleasant day. Went round this morning to buy some provision for the doctor to carry with him. Got measured at the tailor's for my coat, and then walked with the doctor out of town near as far as the bridge stone on his journey to New York. It will take him three or four days to walk there, and I hope to be there by Friday or Saturday evening.§ This forenoon I went to the German chapel again, expecting to hear Father Fleming preach, and was again disappointed. I told the tailor that if he would get my coat done to go to the play this evening I would give him two dollars. He could not, and I went to the play without it.

Spent most of the afternoon in the bookshops in Market Street.—Aitken, Seddons, Prichard & Hall, &c. Bought a history of Pennsylvania for two dollars. About six o'clock I bought a gallery ticket, half a dollar, and went up. Spent fourpence-halfpenny for cake, beer, and apples, and got in seasonably to sit near the front of the gallery. "Macbeth" was the tragedy, and "The Wrangling Lovers" was the

* The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in 1751. Dr. George B. Wood delivered an address at the centennial celebration, which was printed.

† The Rev. Francis Fleming's name is in Hardie's Philadelphia Directory for 1793.

‡ The Rev. Dr. James Sproat and Mr. Ashbel Green were colleague pastors of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia at this time.

§ From some of Mr. Wallcut's memoranda it is probable that he joined the doctor in New York, and that both took passage for Boston in "Barnard's packet," on the 19th. In a draught of a letter, probably to Mr. Davis, he says: "We tarried in New York about eight or ten days, and arrived in Boston the 23d of April, in good health."

intended farce, but some accident happening in the tragedy they were obliged to put off that and give us "High Life Below Stairs." * It was over about twelve, and I went home, but could not get in. Went to the Old Ferry, and got lodgings for fourpence-halfpenny.†

* The theatre was in Southwark, as the town authorities would not allow one in Philadelphia. See Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," vol. i. p. 473.

† The diary ends abruptly here.

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